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Richard Thomson

*Toulouse-Lautrec & Montmartre:  
Depicting Decadence in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*

The philosophy of vice that he sometimes flaunts with provocative ostentation nevertheless takes on, because of the strength of his drawing and the gravity of his diagnosis, the instructive value of a clinical class in morality.

Gustave Geffroy, *La Justice*, 1893

The hub of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's career was Montmartre. It was on those sloping streets to the north of Paris' metropolitan center that he trained in the studio of Fernand Cormon during the early and mid-1880s. It was in that *quartier* that he had his studios, first in the rue Caulaincourt and then in the rue Frochot. Montmartre was where he made his first artistic friends, initially fellow southerners finding their feet in the capital such as Henri Rachou and François Gauzi, then more radical individuals like Louis Anquetin and Emile Bernard as well as the intense Dutchman Vincent van Gogh. At the cabarets of Montmartre Lautrec learned the vocabularies of innovation and disruption that would underlie much of his art. The Chat Noir's shadow plays taught him the expressive force of the silhouette, while the obstreperously anti-establishment values of its performances and songs alerted him to the younger generation's reading of the decadence of contemporary life and schooled him in a satirical approach to it. At Aristide Bruant's cabaret, the Mirliton, Lautrec made his first contact with a rising "star" of the Montmartre entertainment industry, absorbing the low-life atmosphere and the gritty naturalism used to describe it. It was the stimulus of the complex subcultures of Montmartre that provided the subjects of many of Lautrec's early exhibition paintings. And they in turn led to commissions for posters, images such as *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue* and *Ambassadeurs: Aristide Bruant* (see figs. 10 and 113), which not only made an indelible impact on this new medium, so hitched to the momentum of the modern world, but also gave Lautrec an impressive and lasting reputation.

## MONTMARTRE AND THE "DECADENT" REPUBLIC

Lautrec's Montmartre years loosely fit the decade 1885 to 1895, and it is on this span that the present exhibition concentrates.<sup>1</sup> It takes us from Lautrec's emergence as a mature artist after several years of academic training in the teaching ateliers of Léon Bonnat and then Cormon, to the mid-1890s when, with new friends among the Nabi circle of artists and the writers of *La Revue blanche*, Lautrec's work shifted upmarket to the theater and city center bars. It can be argued that 1885–1895 offers the best period of Lautrec's short career. His work was of consistently high quality, he covered his widest range of subjects,

detail

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec,  
*Moulin Rouge: La Goulue*, 1891  
(fig. 10)

1

Pilotell (Georges Labadie),  
"Seize those Cannons," 1871,  
hand-colored lithograph,  
27.3 x 19.3 cm. Victoria & Albert  
Museum, London, E.1075-1962



and he was at his most experimental with different media. It is also the phase of his career in which his art engaged most intricately with contemporary society. This was, specifically, Montmartre. To hyperbolize about Lautrec as the quintessential chronicler of the belle époque is to exaggerate. Living in, and taking most of his subjects from, a defined *quartier* of Paris, Lautrec focused his art on its social geography, subcultures, and local economy. But this is not to say that Lautrec approached Montmartre like some systematic sociologist or anthropologist. He was an artist, working by instinct, attracted to what caught his eye. Thus he made particular choices for his work, even developed particular specialities. Lautrec was a social painter, then, but we need to define this further. Thus we will explore the aspects of contemporary society with which Lautrec's work interacted, examine the visual culture of Montmartre, and assess Lautrec's images alongside those of others. This is in contrast to a strictly biographical angle, which might emphasize Lautrec the aristocrat, the handicapped, the alcoholic.<sup>2</sup> The objective here is to explore the modernity of Lautrec and how it was formed by social and cultural circumstances.

Born in 1864, Lautrec lived his formative and professional years during the early decades of the Third Republic. The republic had been born in 1870 from disaster, with the collapse of the preceding regime, the Second Empire of Napoleon III, in the face of German invasion. The new republic was confronted within its first few months with both negotiating a humiliating peace with the now united German Empire and repressing a fratricidal civil war, for the lower-class population of Paris, which had doggedly withstood a siege throughout the bitter winter of 1870–1871, was riled by the new government's conservative complexion and concessions to the Germans. Its insurgent Commune, of which Montmartre had been a center, was fiercely put down by the republic's troops in "Bloody Week" of May 1871, which left some 25,000 Parisians dead (fig. 1). The Third Republic had deep flaws. During the 1870s when Lautrec was a schoolboy, conservative politicians came close to returning France to monarchy. It was only in 1879 that a genuine republican, Jules Grévy, was elected president.

During the 1880s successive governments passed reforms—legalizing trade unions and easing the divorce law, for instance—but the republic was under pressure. On the right the Catholic Church resisted republican attempts to wrest education from its traditional grasp, both sides realizing that their future influence, even survival, depended on their ability to inculcate their own values, whether religious and hierarchical or scientific and egalitarian, in the next generation. In addition, nationalists resented France's ceding of Alsace and much of Lorraine to Germany in 1871, urging an eventual war of revenge and reclamation. On the left socialism took root among the growing populations of France's industrializing cities. Although socialists won seats in parliament, some on the left felt that the pace of reform was too sluggish, the republic insufficiently progressive. Strikes and mass demonstrations proliferated. During the early 1890s anarchists even unleashed a terrorist campaign, which saw a bomb thrown into the Chamber of Deputies and, in 1894, the assassination of President Sadi Carnot, after which harsh repression followed. The Third Republic was embattled, nervous, and corrupt. Grévy himself had departed in 1887 after misdemeanors involving trafficking in honors, while

1892 saw the Panama Scandal, revealing that senior politicians had been bribed to keep the struggling canal project alive.

These shifts and stresses in French social and political life should not be seen as merely the backdrop against which Lautrec's career unfolded. They had direct impact on it. These processes involved the gradual repositioning within French society of two major social groups, women and the urban proletariat, both of which were central to Lautrec's subject matter. The liberalizing of censorship in 1881 was a republican reform that released the shackles of satire, sparking the cabarets, illustrated magazines, and climate of irreverence on which Lautrec's art thrived. Toulouse-Lautrec's generation had grown up under the flawed Third Republic. The artists and writers of his age group, coming into their maturity around 1890, were concerned to take the measure of their contemporary culture. How was this to be done?

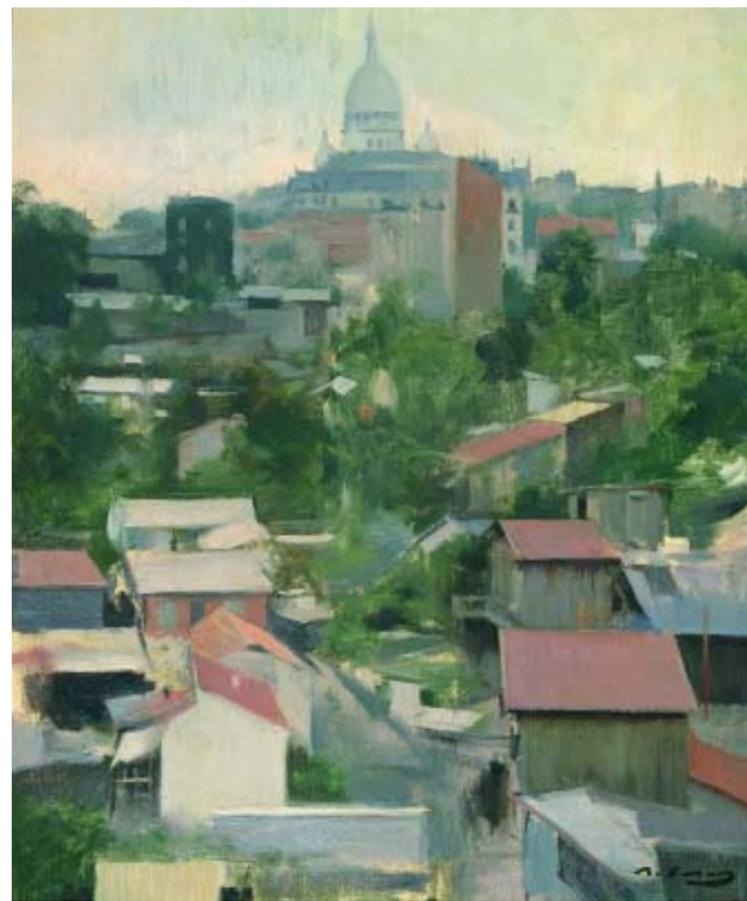
By the late 1880s naturalism was the established form of representation favored by the Third Republic. It was legible, "democratic," and scientific, thus suiting the regime's progressive and egalitarian rhetoric. The work of senior artists like Lautrec's teachers fitted this mold by the 1880s, with Bonnat's portraits of dignitaries and even his history paintings especially noted for his detailed scrutiny. Lautrec's early mature works and representations of Montmartre

life were in this idiom. Bonnat's *Madame Kahn* (fig. 2), painted in the year Lautrec was his pupil, may represent a woman of the upper bourgeoisie standing formally, while Lautrec's later "A la Bastille" (*Jeanne Wenz*) (fig. 3) shows the sister of a fellow student seated at a café table rigged up in his studio. But both set the sitters' faces against casually brushed dark brown backgrounds, designed not to detract from the women's direct, strongly lit gaze and palpably modeled presence.

Naturalism was also the mode of representation that suited foreign artists working in Paris, such as the Catalans Ramón Casas and Santiago Rusiñol. Visiting Paris in 1889 for the Exposition Universelle, they too gravitated to Montmartre, with its cheap lodgings and reputation as an artistic *quartier*. Excited as they were by their alien surroundings, their paintings settled into the reassuring aesthetic of accuracy, charting sites such as the church of the Sacré-Coeur, seen under construction above the shanties of the rear slopes of the butte Montmartre, and the garden of the Moulin de la Galette dance hall (figs. 4 and 125). As foreigners, they tended to observe from a distance.

Lautrec's aesthetic had been rooted in the dominant naturalism. His teachers had taught him to study the model unflinchingly. The work of more radical artists, notably Edgar Degas, instructed him in subtle pictorial devices to give greater actuality to the fiction of the image: off-center compositions, the active use of empty space, the figure cut off by the edge of the frame as if it were on the periphery of our field of vision (see fig. 159). But despite Lautrec's deep-seated commitment to art that observed the everyday world and set about finding ways to represent it that paralleled the modern perception of the quotidian, he and others sought to extend the frontiers of naturalism into more expressive territory, to make it sharper and more dangerous.

This creative drive was also linked to wider cultural forces. Lautrec's generation drew attention to, and revelled in, what they construed as society's decadence. Their target, the Third Republic and its bourgeois power base, claimed to be progressive—introducing universal manhood suffrage, enacting social and labor reforms, improving women's rights—but public debate identified recurrent problems. Issues as varied as the French army's abject defeat at the hands of the Germans, the stagnant birth rate,



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Ramón Casas, *The Sacré-Coeur, Montmartre, c. 1890*, oil on canvas, 67 x 55.5 cm. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

5  
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, "Eros vanné," 1894, lithograph, heightened in watercolor, 27.5 x 18 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie

and rising alcoholism all seemed to point, in the terms of the social Darwinism so prevalent at the time, to a nation evolving not positively but rather in decadence.

The critique of decadence—drawing attention to society's class divisions, moral corruption, and sexual exploitation—came from various quarters. Conservative forces might use it to condemn modernity in relation to the superior values of the past, while the left used it to promote its own radical agenda.<sup>3</sup> The republic reacted defensively, with moralizing propriety allied to a degree of censorship. This collided with Lautrec's own areas of operation. Songs performed in the cafés-concerts were controlled, Yvette Guilbert being obliged to drop a verse about lesbians from Maurice Donnay's song "Eros vanné" (Clapped-out Cupid), while the song sheet Lautrec designed included that very allusion (fig. 5).<sup>4</sup> In 1896, writing in the establishment *Revue des deux mondes*, Maurice Talmeyr accused contemporary posters of being a corrupting



influence, typically modern and decadent in their feverish commercialism and lack of respect for women, religion, and authority, calling for them to promote more elevated values.<sup>5</sup> In riposte, it was argued that the recent proliferation of the multicolored poster was a lively counter to the regime's stuffiness; hitherto the Parisian street had been "straight, regular, chaste, and republican."<sup>6</sup>

The decadent critique was central to the "Montmartre" culture of cabarets, illustrated periodicals, and popular song within which Lautrec's work developed and to which it contributed. The easing of the censorship laws in 1881 gave scope for the younger generation's perception of the bourgeois republic as corrupt and venal, stuffy and hypocritical. During the early 1880s Montmartre rapidly developed into the locale where such anti-establishment attitudes were stridently voiced. There were a number of reasons why Montmartre, rather than some other *quartier*, nurtured this subculture. Its history of independence counted; it had only become officially incorporated into the administration of Paris in 1860, and its record in the Commune gave it a whiff of danger.<sup>7</sup> Its lower slopes, nearer the city center, already housed the studios of important artists such as Degas, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, and Gustave Moreau, and alongside the studios was an infrastructure of models, dealers in

2

Léon Bonnat, *Madame Kahn*, 1882, oil on canvas, 212 x 123 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne

3

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, "A la Bastille" (*Jeanne Wenz*), 1888, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 49.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon





7  
Georges Seurat, *Chahut*,  
1889–1890, oil on canvas, 169 x  
139 cm. Kröller-Müller Museum,  
Otterlo

8  
Louis Morin, *Décor for the  
first tableau, silhouette for  
the shadow play Pierrot  
pornographe*, 1893, zinc, 116 x  
114 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris



and other public buildings, an irony echoed when Victor Meusy's guide to Montmartre in 1900 suggested that the state itself purchase the subversive painting.<sup>10</sup>

This visual vocabulary was soon raided by artists who worked outside the immediate circles of the cabarets. At the Salon des Indépendants in 1890 Georges Seurat exhibited his large canvas *Chahut* (fig. 7). A complex casting of Montmartrois nightlife into the avant-garde neo-impressionist style, it suited Seurat (who had certainly visited the Chat Noir) to recycle the compositional idea from Willette's stained-glass *Le Veau d'or* (see fig. 34) of the decadent spectacle being conducted.

Of even more vital pictorial importance was the Chat Noir's shadow plays, developed by Henri Rivière, Henry Somm, and others from Japanese prototypes. The subjects of these were various. While

some took uplifting themes—such as Rivière's *Marche à l'étoile* (*Journey Following the Star*) and Caran d'Ache's *L'Épopée* (*The Epic*), about the Nativity and Napoleon's grande armée, respectively—others favored decadent subjects, like Louis Morin's *Pierrot pornographe* (1893), set, of course, in Montmartre (fig. 8).<sup>11</sup> The black silhouette that derived from the experience of watching these shadow plays was not just a pictorial convenience, a simple, dramatic dark form. The silhouette was suggestive; it did not describe the whole figure but reduced it, even distorted it. With its lack of exact definition, it expected the viewer to make assumptions about what it defined, to bring into play their knowledge of the shadows.

Thus the silhouette was an ideal pictorial device for the decadent imagination. Anquetin, a close friend of Lautrec's, used it in a large pastel made in 1889 (fig. 9). Although set in central Paris, on the Champs-Élysées, the image is Montmartrois both in its use of the silhouette and in the allusions that it makes about single women with poodles in this particular part of the city: this was the clandestine identification and cruising ground for lesbians.<sup>12</sup> Not everyone looking at Anquetin's pastel—exhibited, it seems, as *Soir* (*Evening*) at the 1891 Indépendants—would know that, but to do so would require specific inside knowledge of "decadent" codes and behavior. When Lautrec himself came to design his first poster, *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue*, he also turned to the silhouette (fig. 10). The black forms create a dark backdrop to offset the dancer's blonde hair and dotted blouse, but they also characterize the typical spectators. Their smart bonnets and top hats reveal them as bourgeois;



6

Adolphe Léon Willette,  
*Parce Domine*, c. 1884, oil on  
canvas, 200 x 390 cm. Musée  
Carnavalet—Histoire de Paris

artists' materials, and so on. Toward the top of the Montmartre hill, "the butte," rents were cheaper for younger artists because it was a more proletarian district, and the combination of low life and low costs suited Lautrec and his peers. Finally, Montmartre already had its vernacular entertainments: working-class bars and dance halls. And as a porous frontier where there was seepage between the smarter classes of central Paris and the proletariat of the outer suburbs, where the two might meet in the commerce of leisure and prostitution, it was a habitat where the egalitarian rhetoric of the Third Republic came under scrutiny. Class mixture was less an expression of fraternity than nervous, temporary cross-*quartier* tourism, less an expression of equality than evidence of the hypocrisy and exploitation of much social exchange. In any event, Montmartre was the ideal terrain for the development of up-to-the-minute cultural forms.

The cabaret culture, described in detail in Dennis Cate's essay in this catalogue, developed visual vocabularies strongly phrased in decadent terms. Adolphe Willette's decorations for the Chat Noir

cabaret are a case in point. Trained by the celebrated history painter Alexandre Cabanel, Willette adapted his academic training in *Parce Domine*, a large decorative canvas with a multitude of figures pitched in a vertiginous neobaroque torrent (fig. 6). This spate flows between Montmartre, identified by the windmills to the upper right, and downtown Paris, with the Opéra and Notre Dame silhouetted on the horizon. It consists of Montmartrois types, headed by Willette's alter ego, Pierrot: cancan dancers, revelers from a masked ball, prostitutes, the inevitable black cat, and men on the razzle.<sup>8</sup> The crowd is unruly, suffering from a "contagion" or "hysteria," to use the terms borrowed from medicine and psychology, as the discourse of decadence was so wont to do in its analysis of the ailments of modern society.<sup>9</sup> The momentum of this surge of pleasure seekers is downward—it is, literally, decadent—and the moon in the nocturnal sky above takes the form of a skull, a salutary warning. *Parce Domine* was an ironic inversion of the patriotic and rhetorical imagery of the mural paintings commissioned by the Third Republic to decorate its town halls

9

Louis Anquetin, *The Rond-Point of the Champs-Élysées*, 1889, pastel, 153 x 99 cm. Musée départementale du Prieuré, Saint Germain-en-Laye



8

10

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Moulin Rouge: La Goulue*, 1891, color lithograph, 191 x 117 cm (sheet). The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison Collection

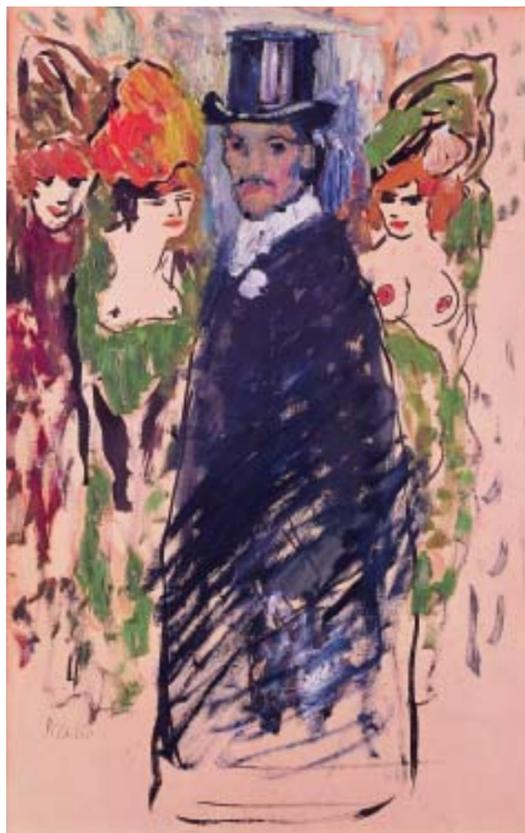


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their fictive presence in a dance hall watching a working-class woman dancing provocatively suggests the decadence that the Montmartre entertainment industry so assiduously marketed.

The decadent critique, taken from wider social debate and geared into commercial entertainment—first by the cabaret culture led by the Chat Noir, then by professionally crafted leisure organizations such as the Moulin Rouge—became what typified Montmartre in the eyes of Parisians, French, and foreigners. By the time Pablo Picasso arrived in Paris in 1900, the gambit was a stale one, but the young Spaniard eagerly adopted it. In a self-portrait from his second visit he took on the persona of a smart bourgeois, lining the background with brazenly bare-breasted tarts (fig. 11). It is an image that, with all the hollow confidence of youthful knowledge, proclaims the clichéd Montmartre nostrum that creativity has its roots in decadence.

How might we define Lautrec's relationship with and contributions to this Montmartre culture?



11

Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait in a Top Hat*, 1901, oil on paper, 50 x 33 cm. Private collection

First, it may be useful summarily to map the two trajectories of the subculture and the artist. In simple terms the opening of the Chat Noir in 1882 initiated the vogue for the “cabaret artistique.” It was followed by a burgeoning number, typically with their own individual identity, such as Bruant’s Mirliton, opened in 1885, or Maxime Lisbonne’s Taverne du Bagne. By the later 1880s the dance halls of Montmartre were attracting more and more audiences from outside the *quartier*, and in 1889 Oller and Zidler launched the Moulin Rouge to capitalize on this by presenting a wide range of attractions. Growing activity and increasing investment led to greater media coverage and to still greater momentum within what could now be defined as the Montmartrois entertainment industry.

That momentum is evinced by the rapidity with which the promotional machinery settled on a new “star” and propelled him or her into instant celebrity. Take the case of Yvette Guilbert, a nobody performing in the provincial cafés-concerts of Lyon in the summer of 1889. Yet by December 1890 she was being lauded by the influential journalist Jean Lorrain as a deluxe product: “the *article de Paris* most in fashion.”<sup>13</sup> Success led to over-exploitation: a constant appetite for novel and not necessarily better acts, yet more shadow theaters, and cabarets with themes such as Heaven or Hell. But by the mid-1890s momentum and originality were waning. The Moulin Rouge was increasingly a tourist trap; the Chat Noir and the Mirliton both closed their doors in 1897. The lively posters made at the turn of the century by artists such as Jules Grün and Maxime Dethomas (see figs. 95 and 96) were advertising a faded “Montmartre,” in Grün’s case explicitly, for the foreigner.

For Lautrec’s part, despite having arrived in Paris as an art student in 1882, it was not until four years later that we have evidence of his visiting the Chat Noir and beginning the relationship with Bruant that acted as his main portal into the Montmartre culture. By 1886 he had had illustrations published in two of the *quartier’s* periodicals, *Le Courrier français* and *Le Mirliton*. But although the Moulin Rouge seems to have hung some of his paintings from its opening, it was not until two years later, in December 1891, that the dance hall commissioned a poster from him. And for all the intensity of Lautrec’s identification of his art with Montmartre in the early 1890s, by mid-decade that had begun to fade, for reasons discussed at the end of this

12

Jean-François Raffaëlli, *The Ragpicker*, 1879, oil on wood, 21 x 9 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Reims

essay. The trajectory of Lautrec’s Montmartrois work does not exactly overlap with that of the entertainment industry; it was briefer.

#### THE TYPOLOGY OF MONTMARTRE

In his representations of the varied populations of Montmartre Lautrec used the standard system of the type, adapting it acutely to suit his own requirements. Since at least the seventeenth century the type—the descriptive schema of the physical attributes and perhaps professional accessories typifying a particular social grouping—had been common in literature and the visual arts. In the nineteenth century, as the populations of cities swelled and conurbations became less easy to “read,” the type flourished in journalism, illustration, and photography as a means of identifying people within social hierarchies, as a means of ordering a shifting world. It still flourished at the end of the century.

An important aspect of the Third Republic’s modernity was its promotion of science as a progressive means of understanding the world. Since its publication in French in 1862, Darwin’s *Origin of Species* had exerted a significant impact on analyses of how society was ordered, while the contributions of intellectuals such as Emile Durkheim, whose *Rules of Sociological Method* appeared in 1894, made France a leader in the new science of sociology. The process of categorization that characterized such scientific thinking deeply marked the aesthetic of naturalism, in both fiction and the visual arts. An example of collaboration between those two forms at this period is the volume *Les Types de Paris*, published in 1889. Taking types such as the flower seller and the cobbler, the book combined texts by naturalist authors such as Guy de Maupassant and Octave Mirbeau with drawings by Jean-François Raffaëlli. Raffaëlli had made his name during the 1880s with images of the proletariat and lower middle-class populations of the Paris suburbs, usually executed in thin layers of paint that emphasized the graphic quality of the work, a technique that Lautrec much admired (fig. 12). At the one-man show Raffaëlli held in 1890 at the Boussod & Valadon gallery, later to be Lautrec’s dealer, the opening exhibits were *Portraits-types de gens du peuple* and *Portraits-types de petits-bourgeois*.<sup>14</sup> The imagery of the type was often associated with the lower classes, and it fascinated, frightened, and offended the bour-



geoisie. Writing in the stolidly bourgeois *Le Monde illustré* in 1893, the conservative art critic Olivier Merson dismissed Raffaëlli’s work: “I absolutely refuse to recognize as human beings what he offers us as figures.”<sup>15</sup> When Lautrec told his grandmother in December 1886, “I’d like to tell you a little bit about what I’m doing, but it’s so special, so ‘outside the law,’ Papa would call me an outsider,” he was probably referring to a combination of factors.<sup>16</sup> All of these—his immersion in the cabaret world as an habitué of Bruant’s Mirliton, his new allegiance to the decadent viewpoint, his adoption of proletarian subjects—divorced him from the class assumptions of his provincial aristocratic family.

The type was commonly used by artists working in a variety of media to represent the Parisian, and often specifically Montmartrois, populations. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen’s large color lithograph advertising Charles Verneau’s poster company, made in 1896, presented a frieze of types (fig. 13). It combined working-class women—the nanny, the laundress,



15

Henri Paul Royer, *A pequena colina de Montmartre (On the Slope)*, 1891, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 60 cm. Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro, Gift of Conde de Figueredo, 1891

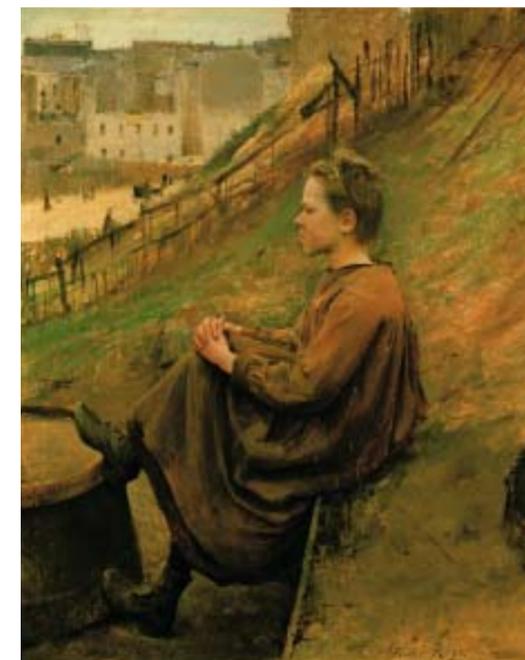
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Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Laundress*, c. 1886, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 72.4 cm. Private collection

the maid, and the delivery girl—and male manual laborers with smartly bonneted bourgeois and a paunchy businessman. Pierre Vidal's cover for Georges Montorgeuil's book *La Vie à Montmartre*, published the following year to capitalize on an already failing vogue, depicted an array of types cavorting vertiginously before the Montmartre skyline: this time the cancan dancer, the artist, the street girl, the nattily dressed pimp, and to the right a Bruant-like figure hand-in-hand with a butch woman (fig. 14).

The type was not only used in such illustrative forms with a relatively genial tone. It was also a common device in paintings, often intended for public exhibition. The failure of the Third Republic to resolve *la question sociale*, that complex of issues related to modern industrial labor such as working hours, insurance, and conditions, was seen as another example of national decadence. In 1896 the sociologist Alfred Fouillée published an important article in the *Revue des deux mondes* entitled "Degeneration?" an analysis of the state of the nation, which he feared to be in a state of "reverse Darwinism." Industrial progress, he diagnosed, had disrupted patterns of life, and one of the results of this was growing vice and alcoholism.<sup>17</sup>

Artists addressing these kinds of problems in their work often turned to the type. Henri Royer's *On the Slope* of 1891 (fig. 15) is a hard-hitting image of urban poverty: a truculent-looking pubescent girl in old boots and a grubby dress staring out over her grim *quartier*, perhaps even the rear slopes of Montmartre. The critic of the left-wing newspaper *Le Progrès de l'Est* imagined that one day this girl would be a beautiful dancer and would get her revenge for the appalling conditions of her childhood, implicitly by exploiting the rich through prostitution.<sup>18</sup> Some five years before, influenced by the social critique of Aristide Bruant's songs, Lautrec had launched his career as a naturalist painter with paintings of types. *The Laundress*, made about 1886, may have neither the physiognomic exactitude nor the descriptive setting to the extent of Royer's picture (fig. 16). But Lautrec suggests, by the rooftops glimpsed through the window, that this is a low-rent garret and, by the redhead's distracted gaze, that she sees something beyond it. Her bony hand, coarsened by her labors, contrasts with the lithe body he implies under her cheap clothing. Lautrec seems to have charged his anonymous type with something of the longing *Le Progrès de l'Est* imputed to Royer's girl.

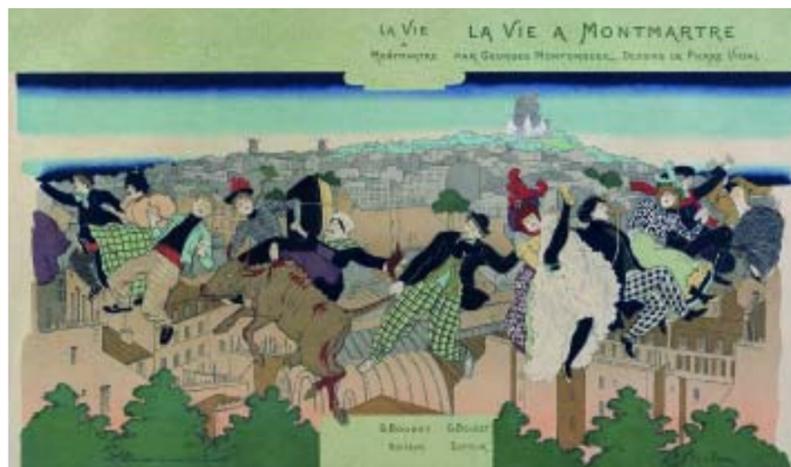


13

Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen, *La Rue (The Street)*, 1896, color lithograph, mounted on canvas, 236.3 x 302.3 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased 1976

14

Pierre Vidal, cover for Georges Montorgeuil's *La Vie à Montmartre*, 1897, color lithograph. The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Herbert D. and Ruth Schimmel Museum Library Fund





17

Eero Järnefelt, *Le Franc, Wine Merchant, Boulevard de Clichy, Paris, 1888*, oil on canvas, 61 x 74 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Collection Antell, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki

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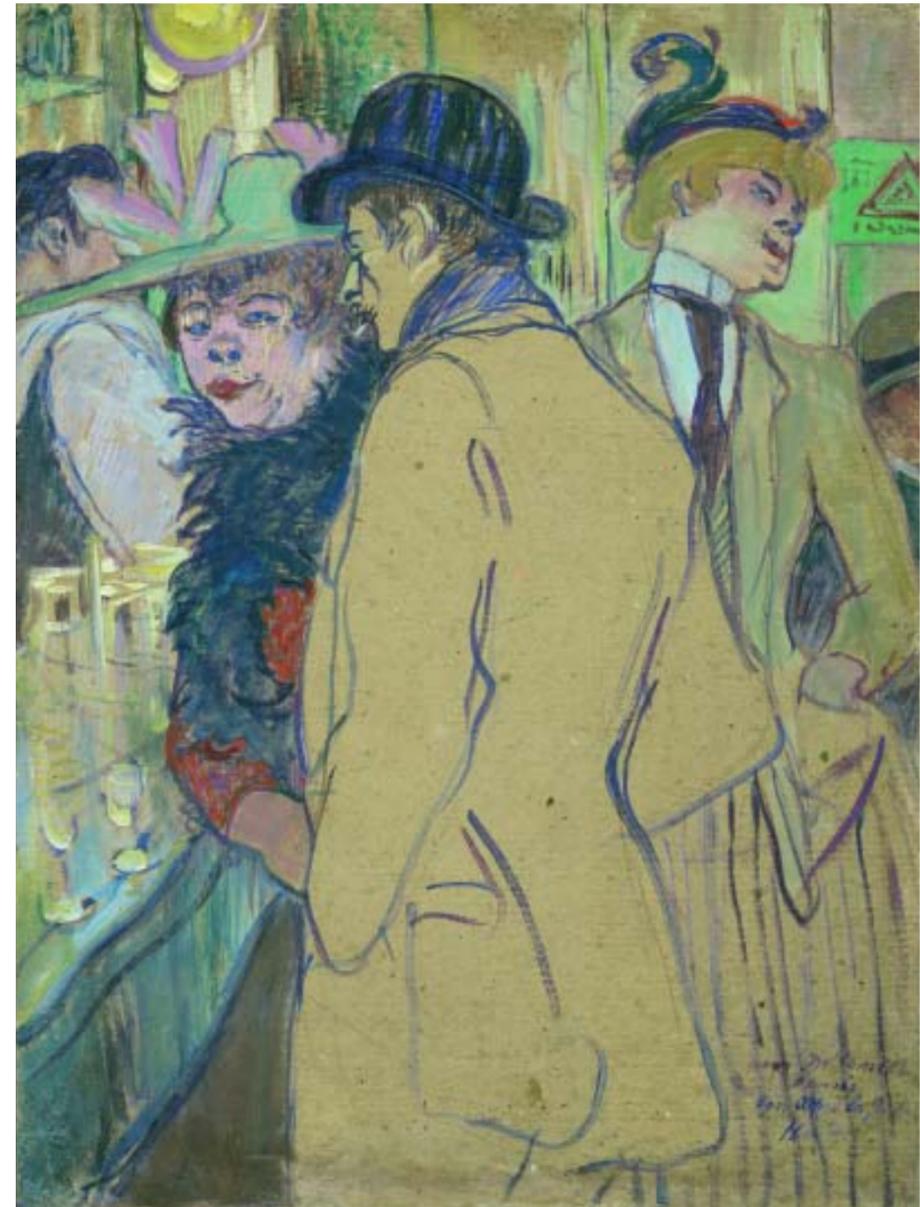
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *A la Mie*, c. 1891, watercolor and gouache on paper mounted on millboard mounted on panel, 53 x 67.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. S.A. Denio Collection, and General Income



Foreign artists in Paris noticed both vice and deprivation as symptoms of France's social problems. At the Salon of 1888 the Finnish artist Eero Järnefelt exhibited *Le Franc, Wine Merchant, Boulevard de Clichy* (fig. 17). The painting represents an *estaminet*, a cheap drinking shop for a working-class clientele. Only a few years later the leftist journalist Henry Leyret reckoned that there were some 25,000 of these in Paris, one per hundred head of population.<sup>19</sup> Järnefelt staffed his scene with two types: the aproned proprietor lighting his pipe; and a down-at-heel man seated at a table with a bottle of cheap wine, a shot of spirits, and a *mazagran* (a hangover cure).<sup>20</sup> The painting operates both as frank naturalism—this is how it is—and as a critique of French society. At the Salon des Indépendants in 1891 Lautrec submitted a very new painting *hors catalogue*. Like Järnefelt's canvas, *A la Mie* operates around types (fig. 18). Lautrec used his friend the champagne merchant and excellent amateur photographer Maurice Guibert to act out a drink-sodden petit-bourgeois,

19

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Alfred la Guigne*, 1894, oil on cardboard, 65.6 x 50.4 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Chester Dale Collection



posing him with his mistress Mariette Berthaud, who appears as a puffy-faced and swollen-handed woman in worker's clothes. In the fiction of his painting they typify a low-life liaison, cemented by shared alcoholism, in some backstreet *estaminet*. Taking a cue from Bruant, Lautrec's title played with the proletarian slang. "Un mie," an abbreviation for "amie," was a

woman of a lower class. "Un miché à la mie" was slang for a client who dodges paying a prostitute, so Lautrec employed language apt for his types to give the picture a tang of working-class authenticity.<sup>21</sup>

Lautrec's use of types both in his somber-toned naturalistic painting of the mid-1880s and in the more lightly painted and graphic touch of his mature

work of the 1890s indicates how important this form of representation remained to him. An outstanding example of Lautrec's later use of types is the painting titled *Alfred la Guigne* (fig. 19). To the public who saw it on exhibition at the Indépendants in 1894, it would have read quite directly as a lower-class bar, the three main characters in which are a blowsy woman in a broad hat and boa, a nattily dressed man, and another woman in a quasi-masculine jacket and tie. Lautrec's fiction invites viewers to use our knowledge, or prejudices, about Parisian low-life to specify those types: probably old-hand prostitute, petty criminal or pimp, and cruising lesbian. "Alfred la Guigne" (Bad Luck Alfred), is the title of a short story in a volume, *La Lutte pour l'amour*, published by Oscar Méténier in 1891. Lautrec's dedication on the painting—"for Méténier after his Alfred la Guigne"—specifies this. The story begins by Alfred losing at cards with his fellow pimps, which he blames on the 13th always being his unlucky day. Tipped off that the police are rounding up prostitutes in the streets between Montmartre and the *grands boulevards*, Alfred goes to look for his girl Louisa and, finding her in the rue Montmartre, sends her back to her lodgings. Relieved at escaping his bad luck, he then goes to a bar. There Alfred pinches "the cheeks of Ernestine Gamahut while whispering in her ear some smutty words. The fat tart laughed." (This could be the moment Lautrec may have loosely used for his painting.) But in the end Alfred falls foul of his *guigne*: on going to Louisa's room in the rue Saint-Sauveur, both are arrested.<sup>22</sup>

Oscar Méténier was an interesting figure. Lautrec may have met him through Bruant's Mirliton. Méténier knew Bruant well and published an extended article on the singer in *La Plume*, also in 1891.<sup>23</sup> Like Bruant, Méténier had a deep knowledge both of proletarian life and its slang. This fascination tied in with both his day job—as a senior civil servant in the Paris Police Commission—and his plays and prose. As early as 1886 Méténier had been acclaimed in decadent circles for his expertise in argot, and his writing used low-life themes as a means of criticizing society.<sup>24</sup> Alfred la Guigne, for instance, condemns bourgeois hypocrisy in using prostitutes and at the same time demanding that they be arrested. This combination of naturalist exactitude, inside knowledge of low-life, and implicit critique of society's decadence brought Méténier's aesthetic close to Lautrec's.

#### CARICATURE AND SCIENCE

By 1890 Lautrec's art had developed means of expression that articulated a modernity encompassing all these aspects. He had found a thematic topography for his work—Montmartre, with its dance halls, bars, cafés-concerts, and circuses—along with the populations of that habitat. He had inherited and adapted a visual language to represent it: naturalism, with its close observation of the everyday world; and decadence, its offspring, with its more critical slant and its use of exaggeration to articulate this. And he had learned and contributed to a particular phrasing of that language: satire, hard-hitting wit. Essentially Lautrec had honed his gifts as a caricaturist. These were apparently instinctive to him. Perhaps they had been formed by a certain wry detachment in his aristocratic class, or by adolescent resentment at being side-lined by his physical restrictions, or by the high-spirited eccentricities of his family circle.

Whatever their causes, Lautrec's caricatural instincts had been evident from the drawings he had made as an adolescent.<sup>25</sup> They did not abate during his days as an art student. Studios were not just industrious and competitive but also lively places. Prankish insolence toward established senior painters, especially rivals of one's *chef d'atelier*, was common practice. At the Salon of 1884 Puvis de Chavannes exhibited *The Sacred Grove, Beloved of the Arts and Muses* (fig. 20). This was the centerpiece of three mural paintings destined for the stairwell of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, France's second city. Representing time-honored cultural forms via allegorical figures and executed in Puvis' characteristic combination of exquisitely poised composition and muted tones, the large painting aptly conveyed the Third Republic's rhetoric about contemporary republicanism's inheritance of the values of the classical past. For art students, particularly those trained in the more naturalistic atmosphere of Cormon's studio, this was pomposity to be pricked. Apparently in a couple of afternoons Lautrec and his fellow students painted a spoof of Puvis' allegory on a similarly grand scale (fig. 21). The painting was evidently teamwork—someone else would surely have brushed in the diminutive figure of Lautrec seen from behind—and it was irreverent. On the left the figure of the Prodigal Son was drafted in from another of Puvis' paintings from 1879 (Bührle Foundation, Zürich)

to stare wanly at a painting signed Mackay. This was a reference to a recent dispute between the celebrated French artist Ernest Meissonier and Mrs. John W. Mackay, wife of a Nevada silver magnate, who had initially refused to pay for his portrait of her, which she disliked. (Prevailed upon to concede, she is said to have hung the offending portrait in her lavatory.)<sup>26</sup> On the right of what for Puvis had been a "sacred grove" the Cormon students painted a shambolic file of intruders in modern dress. Among them we can only reliably identify Lautrec and the bearded Maison-neuve, so named by another Cormon student François Gauzi.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the point of this inappropriate gang is that it is illicit—and kept in order by a *gendarme*. Modernity breaks in on the muses; satirical youth interrupts the rhetoric of the republic. The weapon is wit.



20

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, reduced version of *The Sacred Grove, Beloved of the Arts and Muses*, 1884–1889, oil on canvas, 93 x 231 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Potter Palmer Collection

21

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Parody of "The Sacred Grove" by Puvis de Chavannes, 1884, oil on canvas, 172 x 380 cm. The Henry and Rose Pearlman Foundation, Inc.



The caricatural element in Lautrec's repertoire was not at the fore in the more directly naturalistic work that he made in the later 1880s, in paintings of types such as *The Laundress* or in portraits like those of Jeanne Wenz, Hélène Vary, or Vincent van Gogh (see figs. 3, 87, 88). These are pictures about scrupulous observation. But from about 1890 onward the caricatural had a very present identity in Lautrec's creative imagination, in his ways of seeing and recording. There were two predominant reasons for this, and again they require us to look out of the studio window, so to speak, into the wider world. The burgeoning of the Montmartre culture after the liberalizing of censorship in 1881 was crucial. Satire and irreverence manifested themselves in forms as diverse as the personae of cabaret hosts such as Rodolphe Salis and Aristide Bruant: sarcastically polite and bullyingly rude, respectively; the cartoon strips of illustrators such as Steinlen and Willette; the crazy images of the Salon des Incohérents; or the lyrics of Donnay, Alphonse Allais, and Léon Xanrof. It was the voice of the younger generation, a means of taking on the bourgeoisie and the republic.

In addition, there was an increasing perception that modern life was speeding up. This had been a French anxiety for some time, and it was often blamed on "Yankeesme," or American influence. Raoul Ponchon, an habitué of the Chat Noir and contributor to *Le Courrier français*, typified this anxiety in a satirical

poem imagining a Paris criss-crossed by trains and trams and with tubes, rails, and wires all over the place: modern technology run riot because Paris must not lag behind Chicago.<sup>28</sup> The 1890s were, after all, the decade in which the telephone and the elevator became ever more common, when the motor car was introduced, and when the Lumière brothers showed the first moving pictures on their *cinématographe*.

By using the methods of caricature—exaggeration, speed, wit, acerbity—Lautrec's art appeared cutting-edge in its handling of modern issues: decadence, nervousness, celebrity. In his painting *Alfred la Guigne* Lautrec's economy of touch, specifically the way in which the main male character's back is left almost blank, is the equivalent to the rapidity of the urban gaze, the pictorial counterpart of taking something in with a momentary glance. (Indeed, Méténier's own plays had a reputation for being short and uncompromising.<sup>29</sup>) Lautrec made certain facial features tell: Alfred's sunken cheekbones, the twisted head and slit eyes of the woman wearing a cravat, the porky nose and pursed lips of the prostitute. Rapid execution and exaggerated features are, of course, quintessential to caricature, and they were two of the main characteristics of Lautrec's mature work. It was typical of his personality—Jane Avril remembered his “witty and mordant banter”—and regularly identified in his work by critics.<sup>30</sup> Reviewing the 1891 *Indépendants*, where *Ala Mie* was shown, Raoul Sertat spoke of how Lautrec's work manifested a “delicate vision, a humorous spirit,” while Gustave Geffroy, who knew the artist, wrote of his 1896 one-man show in similar but sharper tones: “In Lautrec there is an innate caricatural sense which it would be a shame to restrain, because it is rich in justified revelations of social pretensions and moral defects.”<sup>31</sup>

While such responses to Lautrec's work were commonplace in the early and mid-1890s, the most coherent attempt to categorize it came from a political journalist, not an art critic. In May 1894 a regional newspaper, *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, staged an art exhibition in its offices. The project was the brainchild of the paper's new director, Arthur Huc. His objectives seem to have been to show his provincial readership that the *Dépêche* was open to the new, to support the work of young artists, and, if possible, to develop a taste for contemporary art in the southwest of France, the paper's territory. Huc selected the exhibitors from young

artists, almost all based in Paris, who had made their reputations at the Salon des Indépendants since 1890. Among those invited were a few landscape painters, notably Maxime Maufra and Achille Laugé; members of the Nabis group; Lautrec and friends such as Charles Maurin and Louis Anquetin; and the decorative artist Eugène Grasset. In sum, it was a good spread of recently emerged, innovative artists active in a range of media.<sup>32</sup> Huc needed to explain these unfamiliar names and their work to his provincial readership. He used two articles in the *Dépêche* to do this.<sup>33</sup>

Huc clustered one group of artists—essentially the Nabis: Maurice Denis, Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard, Paul Ranson, and Ker-Xavier Roussel—under the term “Neo-Traditionists.” This was the neologism coined by Denis himself in an article of 1890 when he had defined his and his colleagues' objectives as bringing subject matter into a more equitable relationship with the mark-making processes of painting.<sup>34</sup> If Huc ratified Denis' category by recycling it, he adopted another term for Lautrec, Anquetin, Maurin, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, and Hermann-Paul: these he grouped under the term “Neo-Realists.” What linked them, Huc argued, was drawing, the way they would try to catch the “dominant note” of their subject with “a single line, a sure, decisive, rapid, and concise line”: in essence a “caricatural procedure.”

This tallied with what Lautrec had submitted to the *Dépêche's* exhibition. He showed two paintings—one of *La Goulue* (probably the one now in the Museum of Modern Art, New York: fig. 22) and one of a lesbian subject (in all likelihood the one owned by his fellow exhibitor Maurin)—and two posters: *Ambassadeurs: Aristide Bruant* and *Jane Avril* (see figs. 113 and 175). In their varied media these works justified Huc's definition and typified Lautrec's preoccupations: emphatically drawn figures, their characteristics acutely delineated and enhanced by lively but economical brushwork or striking flat color. Huc's arguments were also borne out by the catalogue produced for the exhibition. Each artist submitted a lithograph to accompany the list of their works, and the caricatural was primary in the images of the “Neo-Realists.” That term, however, was not of Huc's own invention. Just as he had followed Denis' concept of “Neo-Traditionism,” he appropriated “Neo-Realism” from the volume of interviews with literary figures that the journalist Jules Huret had



22  
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec,  
*La Goulue Entering the Moulin  
Rouge*, 1891–1892, oil on  
cardboard, 79.4 x 59 cm.  
The Museum of Modern Art,  
New York

undertaken for *L'Echo de Paris* and had published in 1891 as *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire* (Inquiry into Literary Evolution). Huret had used the term “Neo-Realists” to differentiate younger, more cutting, and even satirical writers such as Geffroy, Mirbeau, and Lucien Descaves, from older naturalist novelists like Maupassant and Emile Zola.<sup>35</sup> Like Huret, Huc had an urge to detect “evolutionary” progress that was typical of the “scientific” modernity of the 1890s. His recognition of the caricatural edge to the work of Lautrec and his colleagues, as well as his light-fingered lifting of ideas from a fellow journalist, was characteristic of the period, with its appetite for typologies, its frantic instinct

to keep in touch with the new, and the rapid transmission of ideas through the media.

The intersection of Lautrec's art with other complex patterns of modernity reveals itself in his representation of facial expression and body language. This, I think it can be argued, suggests an awareness of *la nouvelle psychologie*. Since Philippe Pinel at the time of the French Revolution, France had been a pioneer in the treatment of mental illness. This had developed apace under the Third Republic. The regime's progressive, scientific bent gave doctors the opportunity to become celebrities. Jean-Martin Charcot was one who made much of this. Director of the Salpêtrière, one of Paris' mental hospitals for women, he staged public demonstrations in the 1870s and 1880s at which he hypnotized patients to explain his theories about the subconsciousness' susceptibility to suggestion.<sup>36</sup> Charcot's clinical practice was supported by modern, visual means. Large drawings by his pupil Dr. Paul Richer charting the stages of hysterical fits illustrated Charcot's lectures and were published in clinical texts by Richer himself.<sup>37</sup>

Other advances were being made at the same time. In 1889, for instance, Dr. Pierre Janet, who used free association to explore the subconscious, first defined psychological analysis.<sup>38</sup> Encouraged by the Third Republic's progressive rhetoric and promoted in the press, thinking about modern society in psychological terms increasingly spread from the clinical to the lay world. The successful novelist Paul Bourget gave his books a diagnostic slant, analyzing modern decadence. His *Physiologie de l'amour moderne* (Physiology of Modern Love), published in 1891, includes “scientific” chapter headings such as “The Therapeutics of Love” and “The Physiology of Physiologists.” The pressures and temptations of modern life are blamed for rendering young Parisian men neurotic wrecks.<sup>39</sup> The art world also took on these ideas, with the critic Thiébaud-Sisson couching an account of recent decorative art in terms of the “exalted neuroses” brought about by new technology and the accelerating pace of life.<sup>40</sup>

These ideas were current in Lautrec's circle. According to the art critic Arsène Alexandre in the newspaper *Paris* on 23 July 1887, when Maurin needed a model with crazed eyes for a painting of Joan of Arc, he sought one at the Salpêtrière.<sup>41</sup> The dancer Jane Avril, a great favorite of Lautrec's around 1892, had

23

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Jane Avril Dancing*, 1892, oil on cardboard, 85.5 x 45 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris



24

Stages of hysterical fits, from Paul Richer's *Études cliniques sur la grande hystérie ou hystero-épilepsie* (Paris, 1881; repr. 1885), 677



herself been treated there by Charcot for two years. In her memoirs she explained that it was the creative therapy of dancing the *courtille*, in a dress lent her by Charcot's daughter, which cured her.<sup>42</sup> I suspect that this underlies Lautrec's painting of *Jane Avril Dancing* (fig. 23). He divided her image into two halves. Above the waist the primly bloused body seems almost steady, her face placid, introverted, even dreamy. Below the waist a clawlike hand grasps her skirts high, while her spindly legs careen and gyrate at what seem to be tortuously distorted angles, not unreminiscent of the physical contortions of hysterical patients in Dr. Richer's drawings. Lautrec's painting makes explicit, with its bifurcation of apparent emotional calm and frantic nervous physicality, how Jane Avril's expressive dancing was a form of therapy.

Another aspect of modernity was the notion that life was more and more fluid and continuous. Scientific developments of various kinds demonstrated, with increasing precision, how things evolved, grew, decayed. That incessant mobility demanded new kinds of representation. If the world was in constant flux, how was this to be understood, explained, and, if possible, pictured? Richer's 1881 study on hysteria, based on his research under Charcot, included a number of drawings, possibly based on photographs, of hysterical women in different manifestations of their symptoms (fig. 24).<sup>43</sup> There is a performative quality to these drawings, the women acting out various states of mind via gesture and expression. The ludic dimension to hysteria was recognized by psychiatrists, Richer naming one manifestation the "clowning" phase. We do not know the extent to which Lautrec knew such material, though he certainly evinced an interest in Richard Krafft-Ebbing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*.<sup>44</sup> Lautrec's images for his *Yvette Guilbert* album may not form a sequence, but they record the *disease* making gestures and pulling faces that record specific phases or features of her performance. So too do the photographs that Guilbert herself published in an article in the *Revue illustrée* in 1897: "How one becomes a star" (figs. 25 and 26).<sup>45</sup> Both of these sets of images catch the same *artiste* in different expressive modes or states of mind. Because Guilbert's remarkable gifts enabled her to articulate such a medley of moods and actions, it was self-defeating to try to picture her in one. As changeable as one of Charcot or Richer's patients, her personae required novel means of representa-

25

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Yvette Guilbert*, plate 10 in the album *Yvette Guilbert*, 1896, lithograph in olive green, 38.6 x 38.7 (sheet, folded approx.) cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, New Century Fund, Gift of Edwin L. Cox—Ed Cox Foundation (See also figs. 190a–q)

26

Edgar de Saint-Senoeh, *Yvette Guilbert*, 1896, photographs from *La Revue illustrée*, no. 15 (15 July 1897): 80

tion: in the case of Lautrec's album, a staccato, quasi-sequential process. Such was Lautrec's complex grasp of modernity that he could combine his acute powers of observation and the contemporary instinct for caricature with the malleable performance of the brilliant Montmartre *disease* and even the clinical approach of contemporary psychology. All of these were idioms for pictorially registering the flux and momentum of the modern urban experience.

LEAVING MONTMARTRE

During the mid-1890s Montmartre slipped out of Lautrec's focus. This was a gradual process, but the subjects of that particular environment and culture began to lose their appeal for him, although he continued to live in the *quartier* until his death in 1901. The reasons for this shift are various, a combination of the personal, professional, and more broadly social. Lautrec made new friendships. He became close to Thadée Natanson, one of the wealthy proprietors of the innovative periodical *La Revue blanche*, and his wife Misia. They lived in the central rue Saint-Florentin, near the place de la Concorde, and their sophisticated, largely Jewish circle of writers such as Tristan Bernard and Romain Coolus was one motive for Lautrec's gradual shift of interest toward the more highbrow theater.

The Montmartre entertainment industry was also in the process of change. Stars such as Bruant and Guilbert, who had made their names on the outer boulevards, had been drawn to the center of Paris. By 1893 both had enjoyed seasons at the major café-concert the Ambassadeurs on the Champs-Élysées, and in 1892 and 1895, respectively, both had given private performances at soirées held by the prestigious publisher Georges Charpentier, a mark of cultural endorsement. The entertainment entrepreneur Joseph Oller had followed the success of the Moulin Rouge by opening another entertainment complex, the Olympia, in 1893; this time on the central boulevard des Capucines.<sup>46</sup>

As the center of gravity of popular entertainment tipped toward central Paris, Montmartre became tawdrrier. Brunois and Camilla Stéphani, for example, were rank imitators of Bruant and Guilbert. Finally, the assassination of President Carnot in 1894, the climax of a period of anarchist terrorism, combined with the progress of the socialists in the 1893 elections



Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec,  
*At the Rat Mort*, 1899, oil on  
 canvas, 55 x 46 cm. The Samuel  
 Courtauld Trust, Courtauld  
 Institute of Art Gallery, London



to encourage republicans to rally to the center. This centripetal pull in politics may have had a discouraging effect on the bourgeoisie's fascination with the working classes, itself a trend that had underpinned the Montmartre entertainment industry. By the mid-1890s Lautrec, whose images had in a short span done so much to promote vital aspects of its entertainment

culture, had drained Montmartre. On occasion he returned to it, as in the splendidly seedy *At the Rat Mort* (fig. 27), with its suggestive fruits, overblown tart, and faceless client. No doubt he could sense that the *quartier's* subculture, based as it had been on a critique of contemporary society's decadence, had itself become shallow, exploitative, and decadent.

1. The last major retrospective of Lautrec's whole career was *Toulouse-Lautrec*, held at the Hayward Gallery in London and the Grand Palais in Paris, 1991–1992.
2. For the best recent biography see Frey 1994.
3. Tierstein 2001, 56; Thomson 2004, chap. 1.
4. Condemni 1992, 48; Guilbert 1927, 171–172.
5. Talmeyr 1896, 201–216.
6. Carrère 1893, 495.
7. Willette 1919, 115.
8. Goudeau 1886, 452.
9. Thomson 2004, 84–85.
10. Meusy and Depas 1900, 71.
11. Abelès 2003, 36–47.
12. Thomson 2002, 77–84.
13. "Yvette," *L'Echo de Paris* (22 December 1890), in Lorrain 1932, 221.
14. *Catalogue de Quelques Peintures, Sculptures et Dessin de J.-F. Raffaëlli*. Boussod & Valadon, Paris, May–June 1890, nos. 1–7.
15. Merson 1893, 303.
16. Schimmel ed. 1991, 107, no. 137, 28 December 1886.
17. Fouillée 1896, 816, 818–819.
18. *Le Progrès de l'Est* (6 May 1890), quoted in Nancy 1999, 139.
19. Leyret 1895 (2000 ed.), 8.
20. I am grateful to Robert Herbert for information about the *mazgran*.
21. Littré 1883, 707; and Bruant 1905, 18. For additional analysis of this painting see London and Paris 1991, 23–25; and Murray 1991, 207–210.
22. Méténier 1891a, 29–39.
23. Méténier 1891b, 39–42. A biography followed in 1893.
24. *Petit Bottin*, 1886, 97.
25. For Lautrec's adolescent caricatures see Anne Roquebert in London and Paris 1991, 84–91.
26. Hungerford 1999, 197–198.
27. Gauzi 1954, 116.
28. *Le Journal* (22 March 1897), in Velter 1996, 416–419.
29. Thalasso 1909, 128–129.
30. Avril 1933.
31. Sertat 1891; Gustave Geffroy, "H. de Toulouse-Lautrec," *La Justice* (14 January 1896), in Geffroy 1900, 293.
32. Thomson 1994, 117–123.
33. Huc 1894.
34. Louis 1890, 540–542.
35. Huret 1891.
36. Silverman 1989, chap. 5.
37. Paris 1986, esp. 69–78.
38. Alain Corbin, "Cries and Whispers," in Perrot 1990, 661.
39. Bourget 1891, 81–83; Nye 1993, 95.
40. Thiébault-Sisson 1897, 100.
41. Ward 1996, 189.
42. Avril 1933.
43. Richer 1881, e.g. 676–678.
44. Natanson 1951, 79.
45. Guilbert 1897, 79–81.
46. Anonymous 1893.